THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 32 SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3rd, 1917 Price One Penny

INDEPENDENT WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.

By John Maclean, M.A.

THE revered trinity of the period of the French Revolution was Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: that has been supplanted by the modern variety, Agitation, Education, Organisation; or, at any rate, the latter trinity has temporarily thrust the former into the background. The worship of Agitation, Education, and Organisation is not confined to the unorthodox, for the war has compelled the governing capitalist class to become devotees as well as suffragists, pacifists, and socialists.

In the sphere of Agitation we have the War Aims Committee, the main effect of which is the staying up of capitalism against the rising flood of Revolution. Organisation is proceeding towards reconstruction at the close of the war, and this Organisation is taking the form of Industrial Councils as sketched in the Whitley Report, councils that mean to use the shop-stewards' movement to buttress up capitalism instead of letting it evolve into one of the agencies making for the rapidly approaching Social Revolution.

Fisher's Education Bill, together with schemes for the scientific training of apprentices and the technical improvement of journeymen, as well as the attention and money being devoted to pure and applied scientific research, indicate the new importance the capitalists are attaching to Education. The object in every instance is accelerated production of commodities, with the accompanying expansion of the surplus at the disposal of the plundering capitalists, so that these "gentlemen" may be able to live more comfortably than before, after disgorging sufficient to their Grand Committee, Parliament, to meet the annual expenses after the war. Neglectful of nothing that will induce the workers to walk quietly in the paths of capitalist righteousness, the capitalists now intend to use the Workers' Educational Association more than ever before to train wage-slaves on social subjects in such a spiritless and colourless fashion that they will become victims of quietism and confine themselves to "practical" problems that nowise endanger the continuance of capitalism. The Unrest Commissioners attribute the revolutionary ferment in South Wales to the teaching of Marxism and frankly suggest the W.E.A. as an antidote. Hence the interview Mr. McTavish, secretary of the W. E. A., has had with Georgius Rex. The kingly interview is the conventional signal to the capitalists that the person honoured is safe, and that his organisation has to be supported.

I was seized and taken as a prisoner of war to Edinburgh Castle six days before I had to read a paper at a conference in Glasgow, February 12th, 1916, for the establishment of a Scottish Labour College on Marxian lines. The capitalists knew that resistance on the Clyde to new impositions was due to the same Marxian teaching that prevails in South Wales.

Now the W.E.A. is being galvanised into activity in Scotland. Lord Haldane helped at the opening of the branches in Edinburgh and Dundee. More significant still, Dr. Boyd of Glasgow University made a savage attack on Marxian education in Kilmarnock a fortnight ago when opening the Ayrshire branch of the W. E. A. He was safe in doing so there as no Marxian classes have yet been established in backward Ayrshire. His speech, and he is President of the Educational Institute of Scotland, reveals quite clearly the exact motive now underlying this new outburst of W.E.Aism.

However, the Government and Dr. Boyd are too late. Independent working class education in Economics, Industrial History, and kindred subjects has taken such a deep root that all opposition but deepens and widens the growth. Speaking for Scotland I can safely say there are between thirty and forty Marxian classes now in full blast, apart from the many study circles in various workshops and halls, in contrast with the four or five but two years ago. These classes are not small ones, for several have almost a hundred and others have over a hundred students enrolled. In spite of the many classes in Glasgow itself the one meeting on Sunday afternoon has nearly 500 enrolled already and it is growing rapidly every Sunday. From communications I have had from the Tyneside, Yorkshire, Lancashire, South Wales, and London the tale is the same: the growth of classes and the clamour for classes, the complaint being the lack of teachers. One significant feature is the growing number of women attending these classes, although the growth is not so quick as some of us would like. Here is an opening for the *Workers' Dreadnought*.

The lads in the trenches are by bitter experience having capitalist nonsense knocked out of their heads and will be eager for Marxian education. Of that I am absolutely convinced. Our business is to prepare for demobilisation, and we have an excellent opportunity next year. In May, 1918, we have the chance of celebrating the centenary of Marx's birth. The occasion ought to be seized for a huge representative gathering. I should suggest that it ought to be held in Cardiff, Sheffield, or Glasgow. As Glasgow is stronger for Marxism than any other city in Britain, it seems to me desirable for it to be held in Glasgow. A powerful committee of the Marxian forces could be easily established out of the committees, teachers, and delegates from the classes, and a large initial sum of money could as easily be obtained from the past and present students.

All working class bodies and existing Marxian classes might be invited to send delegates. Amongst subjects for discussion might be provision of trade union and co-operative funds for the running of classes and payment of teachers, for the establishment of colleges in the largest industrial areas, and the publishing and distribution of Marxian literature, translated from other languages or produced in the English language.

To aid in this work every assistance must be given to unofficial workshop committees and one must be established in every workshop in the country. Education is only one means towards the emancipation of the world's wage-slaves, but a very important one, indeed. Let readers get down to work, then, helping or starting classes everywhere and anywhere. What is wanted is a Big Push.

Of Special Interest This Week!

THE SOLDIERS.

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

"The Platform and the War."

"THE DREADNOUGHT" IN PARLIAMENT.

'WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT' SEIZURE.

On Monday, October 29th, in the House of Commons the Government's attack on the "Dreadnought" was discussed. The following report appeared in Hansard:

Mr. Snowden (Lab.) asked the Home Secretary for what reason Inspector MacLean and other members of the police force visited the premises of the Blackfriars Press on October 4th and ordered that the type employed in the printing of a journal called *The Workers' Dreadnought* must be melted down and everything connected with the paper destroyed; whether the printer was asked to sign an undertaking not to print any further issues of *The Workers' Dreadnought*, and was told that unless this undertaking was given the whole of the machinery in the press would be dismantled there and then; whether the manager of the press was given an opportunity to consult his directors; whether he signed an undertaking; by what authority the police acted in this manner; and by what right and authority they demanded an undertaking not to print further issues of the newspaper?

Sir G. Cave: The police acted in pursuance of a warrant issued by the competent military authority under Defence of the Realm Regulation 51. Under that Regulation any type or plant used or capable of being used for the publication of the newspaper in question was liable to be seized and destroyed, but upon the manager causing the type to be melted down and voluntarily giving an undertaking not to print any further issues of the paper the plant was allowed to remain. No request was made by the manager to be allowed to consult his directors.

Mr. Snowden: Does the right hon. gentleman deny that part of the question which suggests that the reason why this undertaking was signed by the manager was owing to the threat that the whole of the plant would be broken up if that were not done?

Sir G. Cave: The whole of the plant used in printing this very objectionable number of the paper was liable to be seized. The manager requested that this might not be seized, and offered not to print the paper in future.

Mr. L. Smith (L.): Is it not the fact that by seizing the plant rather than prosecuting the paper the Government avoid the necessity of fighting the case in open court, and is not this action of the Government due to the fact that the last case under the Defence of the Realm Act was lost?

Sir G. Cave: No, sir; not at all. If we do not seize the paper until after a prosecution it is too late, because the paper is published. Therefore, the right course is to seize the paper and to leave them the remedy if we have wrongly seized it.

Mr. Snowden: Is it not a fact that this paper is now being printed elsewhere, and the only effect, therefore, of the action of the police is to prevent this particular firm from having the job of printing the newspaper; and, further, is it not a fact that this National Labour Press in Manchester had a successful action against the military and police under circumstances of a precisely similar character?

Sir G. Cave: The paper may be printed elsewhere, but we seized this paper because of a particular offending article, and if the same particular offence is committed elsewhere the paper will be seized.

Mr. L. Smith: Was not the Government, by the Defence of the Realm Act, given power to prosecute papers, and why are they choosing a method which will avoid proceedings in open court?

As far as we are aware the authorities had not read the issue in question. We should like to know what the offence was, and whether Sir G. Cave has read the issue of October 6th, which he styles as "objectionable."

The "Dreadnought" is on sale through the usual channels. Customers who find any difficulty in getting it should write to the Manager, 400, Old Ford Road, E.3.

NAVAL AND MILITARY PENSIONS.

WE welcome the statement made by Sir Arthur Griffith Boscawen at Shoreditch on October 27th, that in the case of soldiers (is this to include sailors?) army pay and ration allowance (is this to include separation allowance?) is to continue until the pension is fixed or, if a temporary pension is paid, it shall not be at the miserable rate of 14*s.* a week as hitherto, but on the highest pension scale, with allowances for children.

NEWS FROM THE TRENCHES.

IN an envelope on which is the official label of the Base Censor a soldier's letter has reached us dated September 30th, 1917, from "Somewhere in France." The writer says:—

"....We are getting fed like whippets, getting a tin of bully and a couple of biscuits for one day's ration. It is something hellish; we never get a drink of tea. The men out here are fed up with the whole b——y lot.

"About four weeks ago about 10,000 men had a big racket in Etaples, and they cleared the place from one end to the other, and when the General asked what was wrong, they said they wanted the war stopped. That was never in the papers.

"We are about 5 miles above Arras, and expect to remain for the winter and the winter following....About a week ago the Germans made a raid on us, but we drove them back...."

WHO MADE THE WAR?

A CANADIAN officer in the London Regiment, writing to Lieut.-Col. J. Obed Smith, says:—

"*I have, to begin with, the duties of Lewis Gun Officer and Work Officer to do at present, and when up the line I did Intelligence as well, therefore I am fully employed. The latter job gave me more to think about in connection with the war than anything I have yet undertaken. I had some nasty work, and I would like nothing better than to take the devils who are responsible for this hellish business and place them on the battlefield at night, alone with the dead; let them see what men are born for; let them see their friends with crushed heads and limbless bodies; make them lie in shell-holes, with half a body protruding in an upright position; let them gaze upon a body on a stretcher, with the bearers dead alongside; and if these sights do not make them repent them of their crimes then, well might we all cry: 'Who made the War?'*"—From *Canada*.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE SOLDIERS.

PARLIAMENT has passed a vote of thanks to those who are fighting; the usual speeches of Party leaders have been made and applauded. Will the soldiers care to read those speeches? Even to us, away here, they seem feebly unreal. Compare them with such horrible actualities as those recorded by Henri Barbusse,* a French private soldier who has dedicated his book to the comrades who fell by his side at Crouij and on Hill 119, in January, May, and September, 1915. How has this book escaped the ban of the censor? we ask ourselves as the sordid misery of the war is unfolded. We see the dreary waste of the battlefield, a grey waterlogged desert where corpses lie decaying and birds of prey wheel overhead. There are shell holes, and deep tracks left by troops and convoys, and bushes of wire in tangled coils, the trench a network of long ditches, is carpeted with slime.

"By each dugout it smells of the night's excretions; the holes themselves, as you peer in, are foul of breath."

The men crouching there in the trenches seem at first to be wholly brutal. They are hooded and heavily swathed in enormous wrappings, skins of animals, blankets and sacking, tarred or oiled or rubbered, to keep out the cold and the scarcely ceasing rain. One has puttees made from a stolen pair of trousers; many have leggings of rags or paper, held in place by telephone wire; one has a piece of linoleum chequered like a draught-board upon his back. Their faces are dirt-begrimed, their eyes dull and heavy-lidded, their beards matted. Tortured by vermin they spend hour after hour in scratching themselves, and wait—"in a state of war one is always waiting"—for food or letters, letters or food, wait in "the damp that rusts men as it rusts rifles, more slowly, but deeper." They swear and quarrel, calling each other by horrible names: "muck-heap," "monkey-snout," "mongrel." They talk of trivial sordid things. One boasts that he took a pair of boots from the dead body of a Bavarian machine gunner.

'Old man, he was there, his buttocks in a hole, doubled up, gaping at the sky with his legs in the air, and his pumps offered themselves to me with an air that meant they were worth while. 'A tight fit,' says I. But you talk about a job to bring those beetle crushers of his away! I worked on top of him, tugging, twisting, twisting and shaking for half an hour, and no lie about it. With his feet gone quite stiff, the patient did not help me a bit. Then at last the legs of it—they'd been pulled about so—came unstuck at the knees, and his breeks tore away and all the lot came, flop. There was me, all of a sudden, with a full boot in each fist. The legs and feet had to be emptied out....We shoved our arms inside the boots and pulled out of 'em some bones and bits of sock and bits of feet. But, look if they weren't worth while."

They steal from the German dead, from each other, and from the people of the districts where they are quartered. The cook does not spare either the mahogany chairs or the violin when he wants wood for his fire.

To kill has become a commonplace matter.

"Someone walking with the quick step of a solitary man....hardly has the German gone by when the four cooks, with no concerted plan and with a single movement, burst forth, jostling each other, run like madmen, and hurl themselves on him. 'Kamerad, messieurs,' he says. But the blade of a knife gleams and disappears....Pépin seizes the helmet...."'It was me that knifed him: I want the helmet.'.... They laugh, jump about like puppets....act again the drama...."

* 'Under Fire,' by Henri Barbusse, in the French original, or translated into English by Fitzwater Wray (Dent, Paris and London).

As one reads the thought comes: are all races thus degraded by war? Are the British like that too? The French will ask: "are these really Frenchmen?"

One feels the disgust of the author with the surroundings in which the war has placed him, with the cold grey battlefield; the cramped and filthy trenches, and the soldiers, degraded by their surroundings. But gradually the men in the trenches become his comrades and their inner kindliness and humanity is revealed. The poor, unwashed trench dwellers, going always in fear of death, are polishing rings for their wives. The young soldier to whom fate grants that only one night of his leave shall be spent with his wife, calls in from the rain, to share their single room, the way-faring soldiers of some other company, and he and his wife sit amongst them looking wearily at each other the long night through.

"'I was a straight man before the war,' says a dying soldier. 'I worked from morning to night to feed my little lot. And then I came here to kill Boches. And now I've got killed.'...."

Our author contrasts these Frenchmen with the African troops:—

"They march past with faces red-brown, yellow or chestnut....We watch them in silence. *These* are asked no questions. They command respect and even a little fear. All the same these Africans seem jolly and in high spirits. They are going, of course, to the first line. That is their place and their passing is the sign of an imminent attack. They are made for the offensive.

"'Those and the 75 gun we can take our hats off to. They're everywhere sent ahead at big moments, the Moroccan Division.'

"'They can't quite fit in with us. They go too fast and there's no way of stopping them.'

"Some of these diabolical images in yellow wood or bronze or ebony are serious of mien, uneasy, or taciturn. Their faces have the disquieting look of the snare secretly discovered. The others laugh with a laugh that jangles like fantastic foreign instruments of music, a laugh that bares the teeth.

"We talk over the characteristics of the Africans; their ferocity in attack; their devouring passion to be in with the bayonet....they raise their arms over their heads—'*Kam'rad, kam'rad!*' 'Non, pas kam'rad!' And in pantomine they drive a bayonet forward, at belly height, drawing it back then with the help of a foot....

"'It worries them to rest, you know; they only live for the minute when the officer puts his watch in his pocket and says: "Off you go!"'

"'In fact they're real soldiers.'

"'We are not soldiers, we're men.'"

In their horror-filled waiting for "big moments," Barbusse and his comrades probably magnified very greatly the ferocity of the Africans, and, we fear magnified the superiority of the European code when the battle is joined. Nevertheless, of all the atrocities of the war we are inclined to think that the wickedest and most unnatural has been the bringing of the black races to fight in the quarrels of the white!

At night six of the men are sent out from the trench, crawling along the ground to discover a German listening post. A noise betrays them, the terrible red rocket goes up into the sky and displays them as though in broad daylight. The machine gun plays systematically upon the spot where they lie. They flatten their bodies upon the earth striving to bury themselves in the mud. Two find cover; four are killed. A sap is dug out from the trench next night to bring in the dead. The bodies are laid beside their living comrades who brush against them. A pestilential vapour hovers over them.

"One must turn aside from the motionless monsters to feel the void they have left amongst us and the familiar things that have been wrenched away."

But this is the dreary life of every day in the trenches which is interspersed with periods of intense horror. The sappers dig steps up from the trench and the men wait with their bombs and their bayonets for the moment to ascend. They rush through the awful volcanic fire of the German barrage, their ranks thinned by the fall of dead and wounded and reinforced by those who sweep on from the rear. The first enemy trench is deserted, only the dead remain. Soldiers form Indian file facing the deadlier fire of the machine gun. They find the wire entanglements broken, the earth so deeply ploughed by the French guns that they cry, "Ah Christ! Look what hell we've given them there." These trenches were no longer tenable, they have been abandoned. Further on the French spring into a trench of Germans. In smoke and darkness there is a hand-to-hand struggle. Then,

"Suddenly we feel that it is over. We see and hear and understand that our wave, rolling here through the barrage fire has not encountered an equal breaker. They have fallen back on our approach. The battle has dissolved in front of us. The slender curtain of defenders has scrambled into the holes, where they are caught like rats or killed...."

One Frenchman bombs the Germans in a dug-out; another shatters the post at the mouth of another dug-out, causes a landslide, men trample and gesticulate over the tomb. Bodies are trampled underfoot, the wounded are suffocated by the dead piled upon them.

"One no longer sees any face but what is inflamed blood-red with sweat, eyes flashing. Some groups seem to be dancing as they brandish their knives. They are elated, immensely confident, ferocious...."

Through the ice-bound night the soldiers talk to each other: one tells of his five-year old son who wanted to play at soldiers, proudly declaring that he has the martial spirit.

"Wilhelm he's a stinking beast to have brought this war on. But Napoleon he was a great man."

Some return with the wounded meeting their dead and dying comrades as they go. The barrage fire begins again. Like children they cry: "Enough, enough!"

In the dim underground refuge the wounded are herded together. A lad wails:

"I'm gangrened; I'm smashed; I'm all in bits inside....up to last week I was young and I was clean....Now I've got nothing but a dirty old decomposed body to drag along."

A man who has lost both feet has terrible bloody bandages on his legs, he struggles to rise, whilst two men hold him down. An aviator burnt down one side talks half conscious, half delirious. At times he fancies he still is burning. He flew over the lines on Sunday morning; two religious services were being held under his eyes, and from the one side the people sang "Gott mit uns!" and from the other, "God is with us."

"Fancy those two identical crowds yelling things that are identical and yet opposite those identical enemy cries....There's only one God. It isn't the departure of prayers that I don't understand; it's their arrival."

The force of the bombardment breaks in the earthen roof of the refuge. Exploding shells kill some of the patients, the others creep into corners "like poor defenceless moles."

The soldiers grumble, but, as Barbusse portrays them, their complaints are of trivial matters. They shirk the mental effort required for grasping larger issues:—

"You get fed up with it." "But you stick it." "You've got to." "No need for a reason." "What's a soldier, or even several soldiers? Nothing, and less than nothing." "We don't know and we can't know."

They fear to tackle dangerous questions: "Talk like that? You'd be cursed and shot at dawn." They have a sullen distrust of "Somebodies," who come in pale blue tunics, with shining belts of fawn colour or patent leather, ushering civilian Somebodies with overcoats and canes, who eye them as though at the Zoological Gardens, and say: "These are real *Poilus* indeed?" The soldiers contemptuously parody the press:

"The Crown Prince is mad, after having been killed at the beginning of the campaign, and meanwhile he has all the diseases you can name....The Germans have no munitions and are chewing wood. They cannot hold out according to the most authoritative calculations beyond the end of the week. ....There will be no desire to forsake the life of the trenches. One is so comfortable there, with water and gas laid on and shower baths at every step...."

But the soldiers continue to read the newspapers, and, like the man in the street, their opinions are doubtless coloured by them.

They speak bitterly of the armies of people behind the lines—the grasping peasants, who are growing what they count rich by overcharging them; the contractors who only supply for the soldiers what is commonplace, ugly, and of bad quality: "cardboard boots, attached to the uppers by a criss-cross of worthless thread," "shoddy and transparent cloth," "flannel underwear thinner than cotton," "straw-like tobacco"; "the duds" of departments and sub-departments, centres, offices, committees, "spruced up with fine caps and officers' coats," "fiddle-faddling and making believe," and dropping easily into the phrase "When we return; *if* we return," though they are 125 miles from the firing-line. They are too busy with points of etiquette and clerical red tape to attend to the urgent needs of the soldier; they are adepts in all sorts of shifts for evading service at the front. Their position is contrasted sharply with that of the poor private who is executed because he once "tried to dodge the trenches."

"During relief he stayed behind and then went quietly off to quarters. He did nothing else; they meant no doubt to make an example of him....He was a decent sort like ourselves, no more, no less—a bit funky, that's all. He was in the front line from the beginning....There was a whole ceremonial from a to z—the colonel on horseback, the degradation; then they tied him to the little post...."

Returning on leave to Paris they are revolted by the artificial nonsense talked there; they shrink from the title hero—half-wondering whether they still are men. But knowing the war in its hideous realities, they have not yet fully grasped its uselessness, and complain that the people in Paris are "too happy," too happy and "too many"; whilst they, the soldiers, are "too miserable."

Away there on the battlefield in the night comes the deluge; water rises in the trench which, under cover of darkness, terrified men dig in front of the first line. The fire of the machine gun sweeping over them ceases. Trenches collapse. Germans and French are drowned or sink down to suffocate

(*Continued on back page.*)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

A LOOPHOLE?

We are of opinion that inquiry should be made into the statements of *La Metropole*, the Belgian newspaper published in London, concerning alleged German peace proposals to the Belgian Prime Minister. According to *La Metropole* these proposals included the meeting of French, Belgian, and German delegates at Berne to lay down the basis of a lasting peace, the following conditions being assured: (1) Complete restoration of Belgium; (2) recognition of Belgium's independence; (3) indemnity for war expenses and reparation of war destructions according to Belgian common law; (4) convocation of the peace conference in Brussels under the presidency of King Albert. If the statement is false it should be withdrawn; if true the matter should be raised in Parliament, as it appears to indicate a way out of the international slaughter. We note that there is no mention of British or Russian delegates; is that an oversight?

LORD RHONDDA AND THE BABIES.

Lord Rhondda says 1,000 baby lives are needlessly lost every week; he wants a Ministry of Health to save them. The provision of good food, clothing, and housing for mothers and children will succeed where the mere setting up of an office with a host of salaried officials will fail! The money which is being lavished on the war would have made a paradise for the nation's children; but in peace time it was refused. Mothers, get the vote, and use the vote to secure better conditions for your children!

THE "DOWN TOOLS" BALLOT IN SOUTH WALES.

The ballot in the South Wales coalfield as to whether a further "comb out" shall be met by "down tools" is fixed for November 1st and 2nd, but a move is on foot to defer it or to prevent its being taken. *The Times'* correspondent writes: "It has been suggested to me that the taking of this ballot will be an excellent thing, because it will demonstrate the numerical weakness of the pacifists....abstentions might result in a misleading vote....it may be doubted whether it is worth while to vindicate the unaltered patriotism of the majority of the Welsh miners at the cost of a complete splitting and possibly an utter wrecking of their Federation."

The solicitude of *The Times* for the Miners' Federation is too new to carry conviction. Evidently some people fear that the opponents of the "comb out" will score a big vote, if not a majority, if the ballot is taken!

PEACE PICKETS.

Mrs. Cole Arrested.

At noon on Sunday, October 28th, a W.S.F. Peace Picket of six women with banners was stationed outside the Brompton Oratory, when the police seized two of the banners inscribed: "Blessed are the Peacemakers" and "The Soldiers in the Trenches long for Peace." One member of the Picket, Mrs. Clara Cole, refused to give up her banner. The police then arrested her "for causing disaffection among His Majesty's troops," by order of the military authorities, under the Defence of the Realm Act. Mrs. Cole was taken to Walton Street Police Station, and kept in a cell there till 5.45, when she was released without being asked to give an undertaking.

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN NEW YORK.

Mrs. Lamartine Yates has sent us the following cablegram, which has been sent to her by the New York Women's Suffrage Party:—

"Woman Suffrage will be voted upon in New York State, November 6th. The soldiers and sailors on foreign duty can vote. Anxious to get out full vote. What can English suffragists do to arouse the interest of these men stationed in England."

Vera Whitehouse,
Chairman, New York Woman Suffrage Party.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

October 23rd.—Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen stated that it will now be made quite clear that payment of separation allowance is to be made to a soldier's wife in cases where she has the ring paper, but the draft book has failed to arrive at the post office. But Local Committees must be satisfied that the non-arrival of the book is not due to suspension of separation allowance. Even this concession will prove a boon to many soldiers' wives and families.

FORCIBLE FEEDING.

Mr. Byrne (I.N.) pointed out that Colonel Sir Thomas Myles and Colonel Sir Arthur Chance, two medical experts, stated at the inquest on Thomas Ashe that "forcible feeding was dangerous to life even in the most skilled hands." In view of this judgment would the Government remove "for all time" the practice of forcible feeding? Mr. Duke said the matter would receive "due consideration." Might we suggest that at least during the period of "consideration," the forcible feeding of C.O.s and others should be stopped!

TENTERS' STRIKE, BELFAST.

Great excitement was caused by the cross-examination of Mr. Duke by Mr. Devlin (I.N.) in respect of the grave situation in Belfast. Twelve thousand Belfast women and girls are out of employment owing to a dispute between power loom manufacturers and tenters. Many of these workers have received notice to quit their houses for non-payment of rent. Mr. Duke said it was a case for the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Munitions. Mr. Devlin pointed out that the women and girls were not responsible for the strike, and it was stated that the men agreed to the arbitrator's award, but the employers refused. Again Mr. Duke put the responsibility on others and said he was not acquainted with the details. Mr. Pringle (L.) asked: "Is there any government in Ireland?" Mr. Devlin received no satisfaction. Meanwhile these people are starving, and may do so for all Mr. Duke seems to care. Another argument for Sinn Fein!!

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.

Mr. John Redmond (I.N.) moved the following: "That this House deplores the policy which has been pursued and is being pursued by the Irish Executive Government and the Irish military authorities at a time when the highest interests of Ireland and the Empire demand the creation of an atmosphere favourable to a successful result of the deliberations of the Irish Convention." A whole evening was passed in futile debate on the Irish situation. If the Englishman in the street could find time to read it verbatim some good might be done. The fact that Mr. John Redmond, whose policy has been to conciliate the Government, exposed the ridiculous measures resorted to by way of government of Ireland should make the greatest English patriot think. He recounted how Swedish gymnastics and exercises have been prohibited under the proclamation against military exercise. Unknown and insignificant men have been arrested up and down the country and tried before military tribunals for speeches at public meetings. Mr. Duke made a lengthy and apologetic speech. Talked in the usual way about rebellion and defiance, of those who are misleading thousands of young Irishmen into the belief that they "can overthrow the British Empire." As though Sinn Feiners worried about the British Empire, except its severance from Ireland. Ireland must feel flattered when the Chief Secretary implies that total independence for her is the overthrow of the British Empire! The Irish Members recounted at great length the false and foolish steps of the Government. As Mr. O'Brien (I.N.) said, the old régime of "a coercion whip in one hand and a bribe in the other" was still in vogue. Mr. O'Grady brought a little novelty into the arguments by recounting that some of the Russians of the Soviet at Petrograd and Moscow said to him: "You are fighting a war of liberation, but what about Ireland?" Referring to the failure of Mr. Duke he said: "He is simply another illustration of the fact that as soon as an Englishman gets into touch with Irish problems and Irish life he is hopelessly at sea." Mr. Lough recounted tales of petty persecution, such as sentencing chaps to six months' hard labour for carrying their hurley sticks over their shoulders. What would be said if British hockey players were treated thus? Mr. Anderson (Lab.), in a fine speech, was able to tell his British fellow-Members that girls recently marched to a cemetery on the anniversary day of O'Donovan Rossa to lay flowers on his grave, and they were seized by the police and taken to the police station. Mr. Devlin (I.N.) accused the British Government of bearing the same responsibility for all the trouble that has arisen in Ireland as the Czar of Russia for all that took place in Russia. And is there any one who will deny it? The Prime Minister came at the close of the debate and satisfied himself with a plea for "more sympathy" for Mr. Duke, and the statement that "sovereign independence" for Ireland could never be granted by Britain—now we know. Further, the decision of the Convention will be carried through in the form of an Act of Parliament. Mr. T. M. Healy, in a speech condemning the motion, declared himself on the side of the Sinn Feiners. He acknowedged that after thirty-seven years the Irish party would disappear. "I do not regret it. On the contrary, I never felt prouder of my country than I do to-day. ....It stands no more crawling or cringing to English Ministers for scraps from your tables....for my part I take my stand with my countrymen." Well, done Tim!!!

BEACHLEY EVICTIONS.

October 24th.—Mr. O'Grady (Lab.) drew attention to the hardship inflicted on the inhabitants of Beachley, on account of the Government decision to build docks. Amongst those evicted were a widow with eight children, the wife of a soldier serving in France, and the widow of a soldier who died in Mesopotamia. Dr. Macnamara contended that the utmost sympathy and kindness had been displayed towards the tenants, but that he would inquire into any case of hardship Mr. O'Grady could give. The Government cannot compensate where old people are broken-hearted for loss of a home that has been in the family for two or three generations.

PRIVATE SIMMONS.

In reply to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Lab.), Mr. Macpherson stated that "Private Simmons, who is a serving soldier, was on furlough pending admission to Roehampton Convalescent Hospital....during which time he contravened the King's Regulations by speaking in public at political meetings." The fact that officers could take part in political meetings did not bear on Simmons's case. He will be discharged from the army in a few days.

WOMEN'S WAGES.

Mr. Forster denied the charge of sweating made by Mr. Devlin (I.N.), *i.e.*, that girls under 18 at the Army Ordnance Stores, Island Bridge and Montpelier, Dublin, are in receipt of 6*s.* per week, others over 18 about 12*s.*, and stated: Girls under 16 and women sorters in the salvage depot in Dublin receive a minimum of 9*s.* and 17*s.* a week respectively, which represents an increase on earlier rates. Since the £1 is only about half its pre-war value, we should like to point out that these rates are a *decrease!*

* * * *

October 25th.—Mr. Duke promised to consider the question of increasing funds for feeding necessitous school children in Ireland. Send resolutions to him!

FORCIBLE FEEDING OF C.O.

Sir G. Cave admitted that Joseph Illingworth has been artificially fed since September 4th. However, now it is being considered whether he can be released under the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act, 1913. The Cat and Mouse Act!

NO SEPARATE PEACE.

Lord Robert Cecil gave a "categorical denial" on behalf of His Majesty's Government to the rumour that the Western Powers are contemplating a separate peace at the expense of Russia.

WAR SAVINGS (?) MEETING.

October 29th.—The approximate expenditure on the Albert Hall meeting was admitted to be £220—this sum did not include the out-of-pocket expenses of the unpaid officials of local war savings committees, which will be paid if claimed. Mr. Hogge (L.) pointed out that an ordinary meeting can be run in the Albert Hall for £100! Is this war saving?

BOLO'S MONEY.

Mr. Snowden (Lab.) asked whether steps would be taken to ascertain whether British newspapers were subsidised by Bolo, especially those belonging to the Harmsworth and Hulton syndicates. Sir G. Cave stated that he was on the look out for German influence, but that it was not likely to be found in the newspapers mentioned. Mr. Lees Smith (L.) suggested that the Government would not dare touch Lord Northcliffe's papers, but the Home Secretary denied the accusation.

* * * *

Mr. Bonar Law now denies that the approaching Conference of the Allies will consider war aims. It is to consider the "prosecution of the war." We ask, With what aim?

WOMEN'S ARMY AUXILIARY FORCE.

Replying to Colonel Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck, Mr. Forster announced that the W.A.A.C. is not included in any army pension scheme. Is this how patriotism is rewarded?

NAVAL AND MILITARY WAR PENSIONS.

A Bill to secure that at least one discharged soldier or sailor should be on every local War Pensions Committee was introduced by Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, and read a second time. We hope no time will be lost in putting it into operation.

THE SPY SYSTEM.

Mr. Ponsonby (L.) moved the adjournment of the House to protest against the practice of opening private letters. He alleged that letters were written to provoke correspondence in order that peoples may be caught in the "meshes of the Defence of the Realm Act." He reminded the House of Macaulay's protest and condemnation of the practice in 1844 in the Mazzini case. Sir G. Cave urged that he only gave warrants where people were suspected, and said, "I have the right not only to direct the examination of correspondence but to take away the liberty of British subjects!....and I have exercised that right on several occasions."

PETROLEUM BILL.

The proposal to pay a royalty of ninepence for every ton of petroleum was put to a division, which resulted in the Government being defeated. This defeat does not mean that the Bill will not be gone on with in its amended form.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

The Franchise Bill was debated on October 24th and 25th. The fact that this Bill in some respects actually increases plural voting by establishing a dual vote where only a single vote before obtained was discussed, and it transpired that the defeat of proportional representation, with its grouping of constituencies, will increase this evil more than was at first intended. Mr. Maurice Healy said that whereas, as originally drafted, the Bill would establish plural voting in 15 new constituencies the number would now be 127. The Chairman gave a faint hope that this anomaly might be rectified on the Report stage. Clause 18, which regulates voting by absent voters, was discussed at great length. Eight days are to be allowed after the poll to count the votes of soldiers, sailors, and merchant seamen. In instances where they are too far for postal arrangements to meet the case (Salonica, Egypt, &c.), the proxy vote is to be used. The Government, however, may, by order in Council, stipulate that even Flanders or any war zone may be included under the proxy vote. If the Government likes the result of the proxy vote it may frequently take this course. An amendment legalising a parent, brother, or sister, in addition to a wife as proxy, was passed. We are opposed to the proxy vote, but we must remark on the very strange omission of provision for women voting by proxy who are on war service or otherwise in foreign lands or on sea. No mention is made, nor was any voice raised in protest against this oversight, in a Bill purporting to enfranchise women. We are not in favour of this Bill, but since women of 30 and over are to vote there should be provision made for women absent voters as well as for men.

STUDY CIRCLE IN BOW.

On Sunday next, November 4th, the first of a series of ten weekly lectures will be given by Miss Horsfall on 'Economics and Social Problems,' at 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, commencing at 3.30 p.m. A charge of 10*d.* will be made for the course of lectures, which may be paid in two instalments. This subject is of great importance to women at the present time and it is hoped that a large number of students will attend. A discussion will follow each lecture.

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FOR THE CHILDREN.

More toys are wanted at the Mothers' Arms, 438, Old Ford Road, especially strong wooden toys and balls. Bulbs and vases to grow them in are wanted at the Mothers' Arms, at the Women's Hall, 20, Railway Street, Poplar, and at 53, St. Leonards Street, Bromley. Children's clothes of all ages are also in demand. Friends who will make garments for the children should write to Miss Lucy Burgis at the Mothers' Arms for advice as to patterns and materials.

The children at Poplar want a dancing class, Mrs. Walker has kindly promised to organise it if a teacher will volunteer. Any generous friend who will do so should write to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst at 400, Old Ford Road.

A friend has offered to present a gymnastic apparatus to the Women's Hall, Poplar, if a teacher can be found. Miss Lynch would be glad to hear from a volunteer.

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Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E3.
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E3.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; Miss Laura Smith, 5s.; Mr. Hy. Heap, 2s.

COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Walker (four), £2 12s. 8d.; Walthamstow B.S.P., per Miss Pankhurst, 11s.; Mrs. Bouvier, 3s. 6½d.

PEACE CAMPAIGN.—"Pax," Hampstead, £1; Mr. R. Laxton, 5s.; Miss May Morris, 2s. 6d.

"OLD COCKNEY FAIR."—Miss Barnes, 2s. 6d.; Miss Green, 2s. 6d.; Mr. J. Ambrose, 2s.; Miss E. W. Craigie, 1s.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—An Englishman, £10; Anon., £5; Mr. J. R. Jones (Card), £1; Miss A. E. Cannon (Card), £1; I.L.P., Leicester Branch, per Mr. A. Gorrie, £1; Mrs. Richmond (Card), 10s. 6d.; Miss E. Gulland, 10s.; E. J. Bowen, Esq., 6s.; Dr. E. Scarlett Synge, 5s.; Mr. F. W. Shorrocks, 5s.; Mrs. S. A. Wheaton, 5s.; Miss Rhoda Stringer, 5s.; Rev. C. Moxon, 5s.; St. Pancras Friends, 5s.; Messrs. Everett, Royle & Thwaites, 3s.; Mrs. Judson, 2s. 6d.; Miss Balchin, 1s. 9d.; Mrs. J. E. Timkay, 1s.

DREADNOUGHT GUARANTEE FUND.—Previously acknowledged, £2 14s. 1d.; Mrs. Mary Parr (quarterly), 5s.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Mrs. Digby Maitland, £10; C. A. Pease, Esq. (Montessori), £3; Mrs. Fox, £2; Mrs. Tew (Montessori), £2; Miss M. A. Pelly (monthly, 10s.), £1 10s.; Mrs. Geo. Booth, £1 1s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; Miss J. T. Drewry, 5s.; Miss M. Burges, 2s. 6d.; Mr. J. W. Mellor, 1s. COLLECTIONS: per Mrs. Judson, £1 7s. 6d.; L.S.A. Toolroom, £1 1s. 8d.; Misses E. and K. Lagsding, Mrs. Bertram and T. Barker (Green's Yard and Cubitt Town), 16s. 8d.

JUMBLE.—Mr. Randall, Miss Gliksten.

TOYS FOR MONTESSORI.—Mrs. Crosland Taylor.

WHAT'S ON?
W.S.F. FIXTURES.
OUTDOOR.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 4th.
Osborn Street, 11.30 A.M., Mrs. Bouvier.
Highbury Corner, 12 (noon), Miss Price.
Finsbury Park, 3.30 P.M., Ex-Inspector Syme, and others.
Peckham Rye, 3 P.M., Mrs. Bouvier.
Hyde Park, 4 P.M., Mrs. Birch, Miss Lynch.

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3rd.
St. Pancras District.—Meet at 11.30 A.M. and 2.30 P.M. in the B.S.P. Hall, 44, Malden Road (nearest station Chalk Farm). Secretary for the day: Mrs. Dawson, 67, Allcroft Road, Kentish Town, N.W. Meeting 12 (noon) and 3 P.M. Speakers: Mrs. Birch, Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Walker, Mr. H. G. Russell.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10th.
Hammersmith District.

INDOOR.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6th.
85, Camberwell Grove, 7.30 P.M., Mrs. Bouvier, 'Internationalism.'

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7th.
141, Portland Road, South Norwood, 7.30 P.M., Miss Lynch. Chair: Mr. Twaite.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8th.
29B, Lincoln's Inn Fields (near Chancery Lane, Holborn end), 3.30 P.M., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, 'Is there a Future for Parliamentary Government?' Chair: Mrs. Bouvier.
All Thursday Lectures will be at 3.30.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11th.
Bow Women's Hall, 6.30 P.M., Mr. Miles Malleson, Reading from his own works. Chair: Mrs. Scurr.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.
Walthamstow League of Rights, November 6th. William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 2.30 P.M., Mrs. Sizer, and others.

OLD COCKNEY FAIR.

Arrangements for the "Old Cockney Fair," Holborn Hall, December 14th and 15th, are progressing. The following members have kindly undertaken to be stall-holders:—

Miss Benningfield, Novelty Stall.
Mrs. Wood, Pottery.
Miss Horsfall, Hats.
Mrs. Casey, Curios.
Mrs. Herebergova, Toys.
Miss Macdonald, Books.
Mrs. Pascoe, Fruit and Vegetables.
Poplar Branch, Garments, &c.
"Mothers' Arms," Children's Garments.
Miss Carr and Miss Marks, Games.

Will friends send contributions to the stalls, sell tickets, send hand-bills to all their acquaintances, and make it as widely known as possible? Offers of help may be sent to Miss Tollemache, 400, Old Ford Road.

THE PLATFORM AND THE WAR.

As is usual with soldiers, the war speeches of General Smuts are much less bellicose than the speeches of any other member of the Government. At Sheffield on October 24th he laid down the following war aims:—

"The end of militarism and of standing armies.

"Permanent peace after the war; the establishment of some league of nations with force behind it which would be able to co-ordinate the activities of the various nations and preserve peace....the adoption of the principle of arbitration.

"The rights of all nations must be preserved for evermore; the carving up of nationality among the Great Powers has been the most potent cause of European wars in the past."

No doubt as a Boer he spoke feelingly on this latter point. He added:—

"The international system was surely coming. We could no longer live in isolation. The world was one, and no nation, however powerful or great, had a right to sever itself from the whole body of mankind. If we could secure two such objects, he, for one, would not prosecute the war until the nations cried out on the battlefields of Europe and whole peoples succumbed to starvation. He did not think it was worth while to prosecute the war until we had got rid of the Kaiser and all other evils with which we were oppressed. We were not the only judges. Mankind, history, God, would pass judgment on the Kaiser and all other instruments of tyranny. How were we going to secure this peace? A negotiated peace was the most dangerous thing we could have at present. He did not trust diplomats and statesmen enough. The nation had a right to know when their statesmen went to conferences what was going to happen. The main fundamental issue would be decided before our representatives went to the Conference to settle details."

Coming from a member of the War Cabinet this is a very remarkable utterance. But when is General Smuts going to take the step indicated by his words? He says that the nation has a right to know when their statesmen went to conferences what was going to happen. Why has he not told the nation "what is going to happen" at the inter-Allied Conference?

When does he propose that the nation shall be fully informed as to what the Government is fighting for? When is the "fundamental issue" to be decided upon by the people? The fact that whilst making such speeches he still remains a member of a government which refuses to disclose its war aims to the nation leads to the conclusion that his interpretation of the phraseology he uses is not the same as ours. We therefore ask: Does "the end of standing armies" mean the establishment of conscription? Does "the establishment of some League of Nations with force behind it" mean another sectional alliance from which some nations will be excluded? Are "the rights of all nations" confined to the nations outside the British Empire?

THE SOLDIERS

(*Continued from p. 876.*)

in the mire. They are comrades now; when Nature makes war upon them they know that they are kin. New truths are revealed to them; their minds free themselves from the trammels:—

"Two great armies fighting together—that means one great army committing suicide."

"It's too stupid—it's too stupid....What does it mean at the bottom of it, all this?—all this that you can't even give a name to....

"Men are made to be husbands, fathers....not beasts that hunt each other and cut each other's throats...." "To-day militarism is called Germany." "Yes, but what will it be called to-morrow?" "War must be killed, war itself...."

So they talk. One interrupts them with the old sayings:—

"We've got to be winners that's all....To be winners in this war....isn't that our object?"

"No! to win isn't the object. It isn't those others we've got to get at—its war....

"The people—they're nothing, though they ought to be everything. All the masses ought to agree together. When all men have made themselves equal we shall be forced to unite and there'll no longer be appalling things done in the face of heaven by thirty million men who don't wish it.

But two men answer "No":—

"As soon as we open our eyes we shall see that.... if every nation every day brings the fresh bodies of fifteen hundred young men to the god of war to be lacerated, it's for the pleasure of a few ringleaders whom we could easily count....."

But will the soldiers see it as Barbusse and the few whom he tells of see it? Will they apply what they have learnt on the field of war? Even to-day do the French soldiers in the trenches watch the utterances of their Foreign Minister, M. Barthou? Do they note that he refuses to set a limit to the war aims of France? Does this mean that her Government will still press for more—more—more—its demand being limited only by its power to enforce—and by the measure of the soldier's patience in the long days of war?

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

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The fact of a married man becoming automatically **POORER** at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 5/- a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from the Government now before it may be too late.

Yours truly,
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